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Staged Experiences. Architecture and rhetoric in the work of Sir Henry Wotton, Nicholas Hawksmoor and Sir John Vanbrugh.

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I. MORAL ARCHITECTURE: SIR HENRY WOTTON'S *ELEMENTS OF ARCHITECTURE*

I. INTRODUCTION

Sir Henry Wotton (1568 – 1639) wrote one of the most influential and important treatises on architecture in seventeenth-century England (fig. 15). *The Elements of Architecture* (1624) was reprinted in England several times, and included in various other architectural works of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.¹ His treatise, although intended for the aristocracy, reached a wide audience of craftsmen and surveyors through these reprints. His name and work must have been familiar to most builders of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.

Wotton probably wrote his treatise in order to gain favour with the aristocracy, and to be considered for the post of provost of Eton College, which had become available shortly before the publication of the treatise. The treatise, although political in immediate effect (Wotton managed to get the post in Eton), displays Wotton's immense knowledge of and familiarity with the practice and theory of, mostly Italian, contemporary art and

¹ Wotton's treatise was printed numerous times after its publication in 1624. A Latin edition appeared in 1649 as part of a Vitruvius edition of Johannes de Laet. Parts or quotations can be found in seventeenth century editions of Palladio and Scamozzi (*The Mirror of Architecture*, 1670, which saw eight editions), in Evelyn's writings (it was added to his *Parallel* in 1722 and 1733), in Oakley's *Magazine of Architecture* 1732-33, in *The Builder's Dictionary* (1734) and Roger Pratt's notebooks. See Van Eck (2003), p. 25 and Harris (1990), p. 499.

architecture. Educated at Oxford he became a diplomat and art buyer for King James I and spend 12 years in Venice as his ambassador. His knowledge of art and architecture, literature and rhetoric is obvious in his treatise on architecture. His treatise is much more than a manual for builders and patrons; it also offers an introduction to the way that British craftsmen, patrons and architects considered architecture. Wotton's reliance on rhetorical theory in the way he structured his treatise, or the way he considered buildings to interact with the environment they are built in, or the way he used vocabulary from rhetorical theory indicates how English architecture could be approached and interpreted. For Wotton, architecture was not only bricks and mortar, but foremost a way of communicating with society. The aristocracy could learn from his treatise how their country houses and homes could project an image of themselves into society, an image which they could subsequently direct and manipulate.

1.1. Sir Henry Wotton

1.1.a. Life

Henry Wotton was born in 1568 from a wealthy family in Bocton Hall in Bocton Malherbe, Kent. Bocton Hall had been in the family ever since Henry Wotton's great-grandfather, the Lord Mayor of London during the reign of Henry V, acquired it by marriage. Izaak Walton wrote a short biography of Sir Henry Wotton, published in 1651 after Wotton's death. It appeared together with Wotton's works and letters as the *Reliquiae Wottonianae* and remains the

most important source on Wotton's life and work.² Walton described the Wotton family as

being a family that hath brought forth many persons eminent for Wisdome and Valour, whose heroick Acts, and honorable Employments both in England, and in forrain parts, have adorn'd themselves, and this Nation; which they have served abroad faithfully, in discharge of their great trust, and prudently in their negotiations with Severall Princes; and also serv'd it at home with much honor and Justice, in their wise managing a great part of the publick affairs therof in the various times both of war and peace.³

Wotton had four elder brothers of whom John Wotton was a soldier and poet, and Edward a courtier who had spent his youth in Italy and was a friend of Sir Philip Sidney. When their father was enjoying a well-earned retirement after a life as a courtier, Queen Elizabeth herself came to stay at Bocton to persuade him to come back to court. She offered him a knighthood, but Thomas Wotton declined. Because of the connections of the Wotton family, highly ranking officials, poets, writers and courtiers must have visited Bocton Hall frequently, where Henry Wotton was raised as a gentleman.

² Wotton, *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, fourth edition, 1685 [first published in 1651].

³ Walton, *The Life of Sir Henry Wotton*, [unpaginated].

In 1584 Henry Wotton went to Oxford University. He studied at Queen's College and became a close friend to the young John Donne (1572–1631). Since the beginning of the sixteenth century humanist reforms at the universities had been taking place. The scholastic curriculum, dominated by the study of Aristotelian logic, was replaced by the study of classical literature.⁴ Logic, rhetoric and grammar were taught extensively, and the study of Latin and Greek became important with it. Various colleges in Oxford and Cambridge adopted the new humanist influence quickly and put the works of Cicero, Quintilian, Lorenzo Valla, Hermogenes, Isocrates and Demosthenes on the reading list.⁵ The humanist method of studying texts by, for example, creating common place books became hugely important in sixteenth-century England. Oxford and Cambridge emphasized rhetoric in their curriculum and soon it became a comprehensive theory applied to literature, poetics and the practical life of politicians, lawyers and courtiers.⁶ When Wotton was eighteen he met the new lecturer in Civil Law at Oxford, Alberico Gentili, who as an active protestant had been forced to flee from Italy. His teaching and his friendship show an early sign of the issues that would concern Wotton later in his life. Not only must Wotton have learned Italian from Gentili, but it is also very likely that Gentili spoke to Wotton about religious affairs, law and science.

When Wotton was nineteen he passed his Masters in Arts (which included the study of rhetoric), and wrote a few papers on the workings of the eye. These papers, called *De Oculi* (manuscript probably lost, date unknown), followed the mainstream ideas of the

⁴ See McConica (1986).

⁵ Vickers (1989), pp. 265-6

⁶ Vickers (1989), p. 270; Vickers (2003), pp. 3-6.

time about the natural laws of vision.⁷ He discussed the form, the motion, and the composition of the eye. In his biography Izaak Walton described how Wotton explained the working of the eye “so as the God of Order hath appointed, without mixture or confusion; and all this to the advantage of man”.⁸ Wotton discussed the issue “Whether we see by the Emission of the Beams from within, or Reception of the species from without?” In the next century similar issues were addressed by Christopher Wren (whose father owned and annotated an edition of Wotton’s *Elements*) who not only showed a scientific interest in the workings of the human faculties, but also integrated his scientific ideas with his views on the effects of architecture. For him it was the eye that received and the mind that interpreted. But Henry Wotton’s opinions, written when he was a young man of nineteen years old, expressed the current ideas of his time. The eyes were capable of taking in the outside world, nature and the cosmos and whilst seeing “the great light of the world, [...] it discover[s] the Fabrick of the heavens, and both the Order and Motion of the Celestiall Orbs”. Whilst seeing all this, man can “silently moralize his own condition, which in a short time (like [...] Flowers) decaies, withers, and then quickly returns again to that Earth, from which both hath their Origination”.⁹ Here we can discover the first signs of how Wotton would consider art and architecture. In experience, whether it is nature, art or oneself, the eye could be considered as a guiding faculty. It takes in the beams of the world and the mind would interpret. The mind would recognize the order and harmony of the world, and the order and harmony within oneself. These Platonic ideas of harmony as an

⁷ See Yolton (1984).

⁸ Walton, *The life of Sir Henry Wotton*, [unpaginated].

⁹ Walton, *The Life of Sir Henry Wotton*, [unpaginated].

innate idea in man will enter into Wotton's later views on nature and hence will strongly influence his theory on art and architecture. The stress on the function of the eye, and the visual experience of architecture, will influence British art theory for a long time after Wotton's death. It is the leading theme in the aesthetic theories of Wren, Hawksmoor and later in eighteenth-century Picturesque theories which connected the visual experience with literary associations.

In 1589 Wotton started on his first travels abroad. Young gentlemen who went travelling across Europe were often under instructions of the court to go to places to acquire specific political information. Without a royal licence none could travel abroad and Wotton certainly had one.¹⁰ He travelled to Germany where he learned to speak German and where he met the French-Swiss scholar and theologian Izaak Casaubon (1559–1614).¹¹ He would remain close friends with Casaubon for the rest of his life, exchanging many letters. Wotton became acquainted with Franciscus Junius, a Dutch scholar who became librarian to the Earl of Arundel and author of *De Pictura Veterum* (1637), a collection of all Greek and Latin discussions on the visual arts known at the time, structured according to the five stages of preparing and delivering a speech.¹² Wotton travelled to Vienna where he stayed with Dr. Hugo Blotz, librarian of the great library of Emperor Rudolf II. It seems certain that Wotton made extensive use of this library and gained much of his knowledge here.¹³ From there he wrote a number of letters to the British court (especially to Lord

¹⁰ Pearsall Smith (1907), pp. 8-9.

¹¹ See Watts (1982).

¹² See Ellenius (1960) and Fehl (1991).

¹³ Pearsall Smith (1907), p. 14

Zouche, whose patronage Wotton was seeking) informing them of the latest political rumours, gossip and facts. The philosopher Francis Bacon (1561–1626) described the occupation of a young traveller in Europe when he advised the young Earl of Rutland before he went on his travels. He told him that there were ‘intelligencers’, who concern themselves with gossip and rumour, but also ‘observers trained to assess information analytically’.¹⁴ Bacon advised him that his

lordship’s better and more constant ground will be to know the consanguinities, alliances and estates of their princes, the proportion betwixt the nobility and the magistracy, the constitution of the courts of justice, the state of their laws ... how the sovereignty of the king infuseth itself into all acts and ordinances...what discipline and preparation for wars; what inventions for increase of traffic at home, for multiplying their commodities, encouraging arts or manufactures of worth of any kind; also what good establishments to prevent the necessities and discontents of the people, to cut off suits at law and quarrels, to suppress thieves and all disorders.¹⁵

Wotton might have been tasked to be such a ‘trained observer’ abroad. In 1591 he started for Italy, where he intended to acquire as much information as possible from the local courts of Venice,

¹⁴ Smuts (1999), p. 38

¹⁵ Smuts (1999), p. 38, quoted from Francis Bacon, Works, IX, 17

Padua and Rome. He travelled disguised as a German (his knowledge of the language came in good use here) in order not to alarm the catholic rulers. In '92 his true identity was discovered and he had to flee to Florence, from where he went on to Geneva, where he stayed with Casaubon. He stayed with him for approximately six months and they developed their friendship further, and would often reminisce about those good days. They read to each other, wrote and debated philosophical, political, religious and artistic matters and enjoyed a good life.

Wotton was offered the choice of an embassy of various states in Europe by the new King James I. Wotton chose the embassy of Venice and arrived there in 1604. King James I knighted him in the same year.¹⁶ Sir Henry Wotton would hold the post of ambassador in Venice three times, spending a total of twelve years in the city-state. He spent his days there attending the local Venetian court meetings, as a spokesman for the King of Great Britain. He mediated for British people arrested in Venice and advised British travellers on their behaviour in the Italian State. He gained knowledge of the rulings and laws of the Venetian state and kept the British court up to date on the various developments in and around Venice. He collected art and studied architecture and encouraged buying and collecting paintings and sculptures in other British travellers. His embassy became a place filled with travellers, seeking the guidance of the resident art connoisseur. Wotton collected art for highly placed courtiers in England. He supplied his patron Lord Salisbury (1563–1612), who was a statesman under James I, with Palladio drawings and wrote about acquiring some

¹⁶ Pearsall Smith (1907), pp. 40-9, Walton, *The Life of Sir Henry Wotton*, [unpaginated].

drawings of the Villa Farnese.¹⁷ It has even been suggested that the recruitment of artists for the court at home was one of the main occupations of an ambassador.¹⁸ In all, he lived a convenient life in Venice, surrounded by friends, and intellectuals ‘en route’ through Europe. Izaak Walton described his stay in the small state as highly pleasurable, and Wotton seemed to have been appreciated by the local officials. Walton stated that

... by a fine sorting of fit Presents, curious and not costly Entertainments, always sweetned by various and pleasant discourse; for which, and his choice application of stories, and his so elegant delivery of all these, even in their Italian language he first got, and still preserv’d such interest in the state of Venice that it was observ’d (such was either his merit or his modesty) they never denied him any request.¹⁹

Henry Wotton once described an ambassador as “an honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his Countrey”.²⁰ People who wished him harm later published this remark and Wotton had to apologize for it. He wrote two *Apologies*, of which one was directly addressed to King James. King James forgave the misstep and raised him back to his former state of privilege.

¹⁷ Howarth (1997), p. 235

¹⁸ Howarth (1997), p. 240.

¹⁹ Walton, *The Life of Sir Henry Wotton*, [unpaginated].

²⁰ Walton, *The Life of Sir Henry Wotton*, [unpaginated]. Ironically Wotton could have meant no harm with his remark as “to lie” could also mean “to reside”, but the fact that he apologized for it suggests strongly that offence was taken.

In 1623 Wotton returned from his travels for good and stayed in London. He was 55 now. He was working on his little treatise *The Elements of Architecture* which was published in 1624 and sent to the King, the Prince of Wales and other highly placed officials. At this time he was in need of a job, and some steady income. In Eton the place of the provost was vacant, and Wotton had a good chance of acquiring it. It may be the case that the publication of *The Elements of Architecture* had some influence on the decision to give him the post. In 1624 the place was granted to him.²¹ He lived the rest of his life there, entered Holy Orders in 1626 and Deacon's Orders in '27. He often had students staying in his house, and at his dinner table, finding great satisfaction in supervising their studies. His *Survey of Education* and the *Aphorisms of Education* reflect his thoughts on these issues, but unfortunately the *Survey* was never completed, and only published in the *Reliquiae* in 1685 after his death. The unfinished version was sent to the King in 1630.²² It contains valuable insights on his views on ethics and nature, which are at the basis of his opinion on art and architecture. He died in 1639 and was buried in Eton where his epitaph states:

Here lieth the first Author of this Sentence.
The Itch of Disputation will prove the Scab of
the Church.
Inquire his Name elsewhere.

²¹ Pearsall Smith (1907), p. 199. Harris and Savage (1990), p. 499.

²² Pearsall Smith (1907), pp. 194-207

I.1.b. Work

The letters and reports that Wotton left behind after his death comprise an immense legacy. It is one of the largest collections of letters throwing light on the life of an ambassador in early Stuart England.²³ It not only tells many stories of kings and queens, courts and courtiers, but also gives an insight into the political troubles of that time. The various scandals Wotton was involved in while he was resident in Venice read as a boy's novel and give the reader an idea of his life there. It was a life in which the delicate balance between the king's favour and disfavour was always at stake, and with that, one's fortunes and misfortunes. Wotton's description of his life as an ambassador 'sent to lie abroad for the good of his country' seems quite accurate. Later in his *Elements* he remarked that it was easier to write about architecture than about the "Labyrinthes and Mysteries of Courts and States".

Under the rule of James I the political situation calmed down somewhat, so that there was space to develop the interest in and imitation of classical antiquity. The increasing possibilities to travel to the Mediterranean countries since the peace with Spain in 1604 stimulated the interest and collecting of art. The English aristocracy started to assemble great collections of art and by the 1620s the collection of the Earl of Arundel, for example, was one of

²³ Pearsall Smith has analysed the whereabouts of Wotton's writings and published a large number of them in his *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton* (1907). Wotton's writings are kept in numerous archives throughout England and Italy, most notably Eton College, Corpus Christi College in Oxford, London Record Office, Bodleian Library, Venice archive, etc. Nearly a thousand letters and dispatches have been found by Pearsall Smith. Some have been published in Walton's *Reliquia Wottonianiae*, some in the nineteenth century and some by Pearsall Smith. Many remain unpublished and it is likely that some remain undiscovered.

the finest and biggest in Europe.²⁴ As Howarth pointed out in his study of early seventeenth century patronage, “ambassadors and mercenaries were important but they were go-betweens. They were the crucial middle men; running between the fashionable painter in his studio and the great Officers of State in London”.²⁵ The new interest in art from Italy, France and Greece functioned for those middle men as a way to gain the court’s favour. The ambassadors and agents in Europe did not so much incite the new interest in art and art collecting, but could make use of it as a possible way towards the advancement of a career. The people who were appointed as ambassadors, like Henry Wotton, were never a member of the aristocracy; they had a career and lived on a salary. If an ambassador such as Wotton could help out a rich patron in England with a work of art from Italy, he did that not only out of love for art, but most certainly also because he was looking for their favour, and their influence in any promotion in his professional career.²⁶ One of the possible occupations of an ambassador abroad was to find artists who could work for the court at home.²⁷ All news received from an ambassador abroad influenced the ambassador’s status at home. In a time which relied on written reports from foreign courts, the quality of such reports was of the highest importance. The recruitment of artists for the court at home was a political act, in order to raise one’s own status. Writing about art was considered, then, as a political act, since connoisseurship could increase the court’s favour.

²⁴ Smuts (1987), p. 119.

²⁵ Howarth (1997), p. 244.

²⁶ Howarth (1997), p. 236.

²⁷ Howarth (1997), p. 240.

Within this delicate political life, Wotton became a known and valued art connoisseur. He invited artists and art lovers to his residency in Venice, and encouraged the collection of Italian art in the British aristocracy. He bought a number of paintings for the British court and wrote lovingly about Titian or Michelangelo.²⁸ Because of his many years in Venice where Wotton developed his skills in art theory and as a connoisseur, he was highly valued and appreciated in England.

Wotton's *Elements of Architecture* has never been the subject of a full-length study in the twentieth century.²⁹ Even though seventeenth- and eighteenth-century authors on art and architecture frequently quoted from one of the numerous editions of the work, a proper and exhaustive analysis of its contents has never been made.³⁰ Pearsall Smith's collection of writings by Wotton, dating from 1907, is still the most modern source of information on Wotton's life and work.³¹ But a critical analysis of Wotton's ideas on architecture and aesthetics does not appear in this collection. Throughout the twentieth century historians mentioned Wotton and his work, aware of the great influence his work had in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Wittkower mentioned him in his writings and made the valuable observation that the guiding

²⁸ Howarth (1997), p. 235.

²⁹ Numerous facsimile reprints, however, were published in the twentieth century. Reprints of the first (1624) edition were published in 1903 by Longman in London with an introduction by S.T. Prideaux, by the University Press of Virginia in 1968 with an introduction by Sir Charles Frederick Hard, by Gregg International Publishers in Farnborough in 1969, and by Theatrum Orbis Terrarum in Amsterdam, and Da Capo Press in 1970.

³⁰ Quotations can be found in seventeenth century English editions of Palladio and Scamozzi, in Evelyn's writings, *The Builder's Dictionary* (1734) and Roger Pratt's notebooks.

³¹ Pearsall Smith (1907).

thought throughout the treatise was based on the moral influence exercised by architecture.³² In John Summerson's standard book on British architecture a small paragraph on Wotton did not appear until the seventh edition in 1983. Before that date, Wotton was not even mentioned in the index.³³ Others acknowledged the Platonic ideal of harmony and beauty in Wotton's work, but since the Renaissance world picture of the Chain of Being was about to be destroyed by the new thinkers of the seventeenth century, Wotton's thought seemed to be an idea of the past.³⁴ These observations on the influence of Italian Humanist thinking acknowledge the fact that Wotton's treatise was highly theoretical and one of the first publications in England in which the profession of architect was advanced in status from artisan to a philosophically educated architect. In this chapter I will attempt to give Wotton's treatise a better place in English architectural history. The analysis of the treatise will show how rhetoric played a part in it and later chapters will show Wotton's influence on architectural ideas of such as those of Hawksmoor and Vanbrugh.

II. THE STRUCTURE OF *THE ELEMENTS OF ARCHITECTURE*

When Wotton published his *Elements of Architecture* in 1624 in London, not many treatises on classical architecture had been published in the English language. Shute's *First and Chief Grounds on architecture* was one of the few publications on architecture, but

³² Wittkower (1971), pp. 143-144; Wittkower (1974), p. 99; Wittkower (1974a), p. 62.

³³ Summerson (1983), p. 156.

³⁴ Wittkower (1971), pp. 143-4; Rykwert (1980), p. 128; Summerson (1983), p. 156; Harris and Savage (1990).

was never finished. Wotton's treatise was the first classical treatise in the English language that was complete. It also introduced the architectural theory of the Italian Renaissance and especially Alberti in Britain.³⁵

THE ELEMENTS OF ARCHITECTURE	
Structure.	
Page:	<i>Part one</i>
2-10	<u>I. Seate / situation</u>
2-6	<i>I.1. General figuration</i> physical principles, astrological, oeconomical, optical, political.
6-10	<i>I.2. Several Parts</i>
10-114	<u>II. Worke / fabrique</u>
	<i>II.1. Principal parts of the fabrique</i>
10-16	II.1.1. Materials
16-81	II.1.2. Forme / disposition
16-22	II.1.2.a. General figuration
22-81	II.1.2.b. Several parts
22-27	Foundation
27-51	Walls
	Solid walls
	Intermissions
	Pillars, communities
	Pillars, proprietes (Tuscan, Dorique, Ionique, Corinthian, Compound)
	Pilasters
	Vaults
51-64	Appertitions
64-78	Compartition
78-81	Cover
	<i>Part two</i>
	<i>II.2. Ornaments / beautifying the fabrique</i>
81-95	II.2.1. Choosing Rules: truth, grace, force, affection.
95-114	II.2.2. Disposition Rules: interior, exterior, inferior arts.
114-123	<u>III. Conclusion</u> Judging. Working backwards from Ornaments (first sight) to Situation and principal parts.

³⁵ See also Bennett (1993) and Harris and Savage (1990), p. 499.

In his preface Wotton claimed to be influenced by Vitruvius, Alberti, Philander and Rivius. In the text he admitted to have drawn information from Philibert de L'Orme, Daniele Barbaro, Palladio, Bernardino Baldi and many others.³⁶ Wotton started his treatise by stating the object of the architect: to build well. There are three conditions for building well: Commodity, Firmness, and Delight. The treatise is concerned with the rules and concerns for fulfilling these three conditions. Wotton wrote in the first lines of his treatise that for him, "the end must direct the Operation", which is a rule that can be applied to all "Operative arts".³⁷ Wotton defined his subject; he distinguished three objects and announced the rules and advice, which will determine these objects.

³⁶ Gualtherus Rivius was a German author who translated Vitruvius in his *Zehen Bücher von der Architecture und künstlichen Bauen* (1548), and who published *Der furnembsten notwendigsten der ganzen Architectur angehörigen mathematischen und mechanischen Künst eygentlicher Bericht* (1547). For Wotton references to these authors see Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, preface, pp. 13-15, p. 26, p. 62, p. 70. Bernardino Baldi (1533-1617), Italian mathematician, published two Latin editions of Vitruvius (*Scamilli impares Vitruuiani* in 1612 and *De verborum Vitruuianorum significatione* in 1649). Wotton stated to have drawn from his commentary on Aristotle's *Mechanica* (1621). See Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 49, p. 79. Wotton took the name of Baldi when he went to Scotland for the Duke of Tuscany in 1601. Disguised as an Italian named Octavio Baldi he went to warn the King of Scotland (the later King James of England) against a murder plot. See Pearsall Smith (1907), pp. 40-49 and Walton, *The Life of Sir Henry Wotton*, [unpaginated]. Herbert Mitchell published a short analysis of the edition annotated by Wotton of Philibert Delorme's *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture* (1603) in 1994 in which he analysed Wotton's notes. See Mitchell (1994).

³⁷ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 1.

Wotton divided his subject in two parts; the situation of a building and the building itself (the *Worke*). For each part he gave rules and advice to direct the reader. Wotton followed his general rule to always start with generalities and end with specifics throughout his whole treatise. In the part on *Situation* he started on the *General figuration* and ended with the *Several parts*. The part *Worke* is divided in the *Principal parts* and the *Ornaments*. The *Principal Parts* are divided in *Materials* and *Forme*, the latter being divided again in *General Figuration* and *Principal Parts*. In the section on *Ornaments* Wotton started with choosing and ended with the application of ornament. In general he offered advice on each subject, always beginning with some general cautions and finishing with some specific rules (see table).

The third part offers a method of judging architecture. Wotton followed his own rule that the end must direct the operation and stated that the method of judging architecture is contrary to the method of composing, and one should work backwards, from specifics (ornaments) to essentials (main parts and the situation).

II.1. The Situation of a Building

Wotton started his treatise with the situation of a building. He divided this subject under two headings: the general situation and the situation of the parts of the building. Important points for a builder include “physical principles”, like the climate and soil of the building area, “astrological principles”, where Wotton warned the architect for earthquake areas, “oeconomical principles”, where he stressed the proximity of running water, woodlands and the accessibility of the place. He also described “optical principles”, where he referred to the “Royaltie of Sight”. Not only the house-

owner's eyes, but also the visitor's eyes must be, as he described it, "fedde with extent and varietie".³⁸ As a final point Wotton warned about the unpleasantness of politics when it comes to choosing your neighbours, since one would not want to live next to someone of much higher rank than oneself, for that will mean one will always live "under brighter beames then his owne".³⁹

In Wotton's next heading, the placing of the parts, he reminded his reader of the work of the "High Architect" of the world, that is God, who designed the human body. One should always keep an image of the best in mind, which is God's creation, man.⁴⁰ It matters to Wotton to have an *image* of the best example in the mind's eye and follow that example. In the human body all the members are distributed according to its use (the eyes at the top of the body, the legs and feet providing stability and movement) and still provide a harmonious whole. This ideal should guide the architect in the placing of the parts of the building. Since in all nature use is a defining criterion, it should be so in architecture too. For example, all studies and libraries should be placed towards the east, because, according to Wotton, "the morning is a friend to the Muses". Rooms that require a cool temperature, as cellars, kitchens and pantries, should be situated on the north side of the building.⁴¹

³⁸ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 2-5.

³⁹ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 5. Note the emphasis on visuality in his choice of words 'brighter beams'.

⁴⁰ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 7.

⁴¹ Wotton would have found these prescriptions in Vitruvius, book VI.

II.2. The Principal Parts of the Building

The second chapter of Wotton's treatise is called *Worke*. This he divided into a chapter on the principal parts of the building and a chapter on the ornaments of the building. The chapter on the ornaments will be discussed later. The chapter on the *Principal Parts* of the building is sub-divided into two paragraphs: *Materials* and *Disposition*. The disposition is sub-divided again into the familiar parts of general disposition and specific parts of the disposition. Within the general disposition Wotton discussed the choice of geometrical figures like cubes, circles and ovals. In his discussion of the several parts of the building Wotton acknowledged his debt to Alberti, from whom he took the division of a building into five heads. Wotton distinguished the foundation, the walls, 'appertions' (openings like windows and doors), compartition (distribution of the parts), and cover (roof). This corresponded with Alberti's division of the elements of architecture into walls, openings, situation & disposition, and the roof.⁴² Both authors defined columns as walls with openings and described them as a structural part of the building.

The treatment of the principal parts alone consisted of 71 pages and is the largest portion of the treatise. Here Wotton quickly went over the main concerns for the architect when it comes to materials. But, although an architect should not neglect the issues concerned with the choice and use of materials, Wotton stressed that this is more the business of a superintendent and not the architect's, because - and here Wotton made a clear distinction - an

⁴² Van Eck (1998), p. 293

architect works on the ‘idea’ of the work, where form triumphs over matter.⁴³

In the chapter on the disposition of the several parts of a building Wotton touched on the five classical orders, roughly following Alberti again in his description. He criticised Vitruvius for mixing up *natural reason* and *mathematical reason*.⁴⁴ Vitruvius for instance held that a column should be narrower at the top, which in Wotton’s opinion was strange because the eye already makes objects appear more slender as they grow higher. The opposite is true for another issue, where Vitruvius allowed fluted columns to be built narrower because our eye makes them appear stronger. But again, Wotton disagreed and argued that in this case the “mathematical” reason should precede because fluted columns are actually weakened by their fluting, and hence should be built bigger.⁴⁵

The paragraph on the compartition of a building, that is the “casting and contexture of the whole work”, is for Wotton the most important part in the description of the form of the building. First Wotton gave some general advice. Following Alberti, Wotton stated that above all, an architect must never be satisfied with a plan on paper alone, without carefully presenting his intentions in a model of the planned building. The model must be plain and simple, without any decoration or colour so that the “pleasure of the eye” cannot cloud the judgment. Wotton went on to describe the distribution of the ground area for the different rooms. He started from two principles, gracefulness and usefulness.

⁴³ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 21. See also Baker-Smith (1992), p. 33.

⁴⁴ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, pp. 40-41.

⁴⁵ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 41.

Gracefulness in the distribution of the elements of a building could be attained, as in nature, through a correspondence between the parts and the whole and between the parts themselves. The correspondence between the parts and the whole meant that the rooms of a building should correspond to the whole idea of the building, so that there were “great rooms, great lights, great entrances and great pillars” in a great building. This referred to a correspondence between the different parts of the building, but at the same time also between inhabitant and building. For a great building housed a great man and there should never be any conflict between the “dwelling and the being”, because as Wotton later pointed out, “every mans proper mansion House and home” is an “Epitomie of the whole world”.⁴⁶ Here we are led to the rhetorical concept of decorum, which is also described in some depth by Alberti.⁴⁷ Onians quoted him on the subject: “that which we should praise first in an architect is the ability to judge what is appropriate”.⁴⁸

The second point Wotton mentioned in the distribution of the parts of a building is usefulness. With this notion he not only meant that the building consisted of enough rooms, and that they are laid out in a sensible manner, but also that it may appear “airie and spirituuous, and fit for the welcome of cheerefull Guests”. Gracefulness and usefulness, then, are the two main notions on which a good distribution of the parts of a building should be based.

Wotton concluded this part of his *Elements* with the roof or cover of the house, or as he described it: “ the House may now have leave to put on his Hatte”. The roof was for him the last in

⁴⁶ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, pp. 74, 82.

⁴⁷ See Onians (1988), pp. 150-157.

⁴⁸ Onians (1988), p. 151 [Alberti, *de re aedificatoria*, IX.10].

execution, but the first in intention, because in the end all houses are primarily built for shelter.

II.3. Ornament

The decoration of architecture consists mainly of sculpture and painting, and Wotton first described how to choose them and then how to apply them. The main concerns in choosing decoration are that the decoration must be well designed, and secondly well coloured. In a good design there must be truth and grace.

Truth refers to a natural rendering of the figures. Wotton explained that although truth seems a very clear concept in painting and sculpture, in fact it could be taken too far. He quoted a long passage from Quintilian which he felt was fitting for this subject. However, he did not interpret the passage correctly as Wotton believed Quintilian was writing about antique artists who worked in too realistic a manner, while in fact he illustrated the wide variety in styles of oratory, sculpture and painting. Wotton quoted Quintilian starting with the painters Polygnotus and Aglaophon:⁴⁹

The first Painters of name, whose Workes
bee considerable for any thing more then
only Antiquitie, are said to have beene
Polygnotus, and Aglaophon; whose bare
Colourings (hee meanes I thinke in white
and blacke) hath even yet so many followers,
that those rude and first Elements, as it were
of that, which within a while, became an

⁴⁹ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, pp. 90-94. Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, XII.x.3-12

Arte, are preferred, before the greatest Painters that have beene extant after them, out of a certaine Competition (as I conceive it) in point of Judgement. After these, Zeuxes and Parasius not farre distant in age, both about the time of the Peloponesian Warre, (for in Xenophon wee have a Dialogue betweene Prasius and Socrates) did adde much to this Arte. Of which the first is said, to have invented the due disposition of Lights and Shadows;

Light and dark are here considered as some of the main concepts of art as an imitation of nature. Besides light and dark there was the line, or the drawing in art. Within drawing, Wotton read in Quintilian, artists like Zeuxis and Parasius exaggerated proportions or limited forms. A parallel was made between visual art and written art as both Zeuxis and Homer stressed the impressive character of their figures by exaggerating their appearance:

The second, to have more subtilly examined, the truth of Lines in the Draught; for Zeuxes did make Limbes, bigger then the life; deeming his Figures, thereby the more stately and Maiesticall; & therein (as some thinke) imitating Homer, whom the stoutest forme doth please, even in Women. On the other side, Parasius did exactly limit al the Proportions so, as they call him the Law giver, because in the Images of the Gods and

of Heroicall Personages, others have followed his Paternes like a Decree;

But other painters stood out for their skills in proportion, invention or grace:

But Picture did most flourish, about the daies of Philip and even to the Successours of Alexander; yet by sundry habilities; for Protogenes, did excell in Diligence; Pamphilus and Melanthius in due Proportion, Antiphilus in a Franke Facilitie; Theon of Samos, in strength of Fantasie and conceiving of Passions; Apelles, in Invention, and Grace, whereof hee doth himselfe most vaunte; Euphranor, deserves admiration, that being in other excellent studies, a principall Man, he was likewise a wondrous Artizan, both in Painting and Sculpture.

In sculpture there are similar varieties in skill and style:

The like difference we may observe among the Statuaries; for the workes of Calon and Egesias were somewhat stiffe, like the Tuscan manner; Those of Calamis not done with so cold stroakes; And Myron more tender then the former; a diligent Decency in Polycletus above the others, to whom though the highest prayse bee attributed be the most, yet lest he should goe free from exception, some thinke hee wanted solemnesse; for as

he may perchance be sayd to have added a comely dimension to humane shape, somewhat above the truth; so on the other side, hee seemed not to have fully expressed the Maiesty of the Gods: Moreover, hee is sayd not to have medled willingly with the graver age, as not adventuring beyond smooth cheekes: But these vertues that were wanting in Polycletus, were supplied by Phidias and Alcmenes, yet Phidias was a better Artizan in the representing of Gods, then of Men; and in his workes of Ivorie, beyond all emulation, even though hee had left nothing behinde him, but his Minerva at Athens, or the Olympian Jupiter in Elis, whose Beautie seemes to have added somewhat, even to the received Religion; the Maiestie of the Worke, as it were equalling the Deity. To Truth, they affirme Lysippus and Praxiteles, to have made the neerest approach: for Demetrius is therein reprehended, as rather exceeding then deficient; having beene a greater aymer at Likeness, then at Loveliness.

This is that witty Censure of the ancient Artizans, which Quintilian hath left us [...].⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, pp. 91-94.

In the description of the styles of various artists, some exaggerated forms, others limited shapes and thereby some stayed closer to nature than others. Wotton continued with the artist mentioned last, Demetrius, who was deemed ‘too naturall’. Wotton also found this in more modern artists such as Dürer and Michelangelo. Dürer represented too much of “that which was” and stayed close to ‘common nature’, while Michelangelo expressed too much of “that which should be” and stayed close to ‘absolute nature’. Both manners of painting resulted, according to Wotton, in a certain rigidity and lack of gracefulness.⁵¹

After the description of Truth, Wotton progressed to Grace, which is described as a “certaine free disposition [...] answerable to that unaffected frankness of Fashion in a living bodie” and so added beauty to any object.⁵²

The application of colour in painting consists of force and affection. Force means the body an artist can give to painted figures, usually made clear by adding dark or light tones to the bordering lines of a figure. Also there should be no doubt about where the figure begins and where it ends, so that the placing of the figure is clear. Lastly, a well-coloured painting should have affection, which refers to the rhetorical quality of liveliness; as if the figures in the painting were acting on a stage. The referene to the stage (again) underlines the importrance for the painter to get his message across. Figures on a stage show in a clearer manner than real life sometimes does what is going on in a scene. Here Wotton reminded the reader that a laughing face can be changed into a crying face with the least touch of the pencil. The

⁵¹ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, pp. 94-95.

⁵² Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 86.

“coincidence of extremes” reminded Wotton of Cardinal Cusanus’s work, who made clear how close together a straight line and a circle lie.⁵³ For Cusanus God is made up out of extreme opposites: “For God himself is the likeness of like and the unlikeness of the unlike, the opposition of opposites, the contrary of contraries. For He gathers and composes all these by beautiful and inexpressible harmony into one concord”.⁵⁴

The next heading is the location of decoration, where Wotton first touches on some general rules on the exterior decorations and then on the interior decoration. The placing of interior paintings should follow four rules: first, that there should never be too many pictures in one room; second, that decoration should be illuminated sparsely, as in nature by only one light. Third, that one should take into consideration in which light the artist worked so that the effect is the most natural. Lastly that one should dispose decoration according to its quality. This means to put landscape pictures in summerhouses or rooms facing a garden, and graver scenes should decorate galleries.⁵⁵

The placing of sculpture lead to the following precautions. One should be modest, since a house should never look like a “Cabbinet”, that is a display of a collection, and Wotton added, “Moral Philosophy, which tempereth Fancies is the Superintendent

⁵³ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, pp. 88-89. Cusanus, or Nicholas of Cusa (1401?-1464), German humanist, scientist, statesman, and philosopher, from 1448 cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church. He who wrote on the coincidence of extremes, which relates to his theory on vision and beauty as described in his *De visione Dei sive de icona* (1453) in which the idea of the vision of God is introduced with the example of an ‘icon’ or picture. See Smith (1992), pp. 95-96; Watts (1982).

⁵⁴ Quoted from Smith (1992), pp. 95-96.

⁵⁵ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, pp. 97-101.

of Art”.⁵⁶ Secondly, one should offer a visitor a modest welcome. For a first impression a Doric architectural order seems more appropriate than a Corinthian. He described an example of an entrance where the “great Doore, be Arched, with some brave Head, cut in fine Stone or Marble for the Key of the Arch, and two Incumbent Figures gracefully leaning upon it, towards one another, as if they meant to confere; I should think this a sufficient entertainment, for the first Reception, of any Iudicious Sight, which I could wish seconded, with two great standing Statues on each Side of a paved way that shall leade up into the Fabrique, So as the Beholder at the first entrance, may passe his Eye betweene them”.⁵⁷ First impressions count and sculpture can easily be applied too abundantly, suggesting an inappropriate immodesty of the owner of the house. A moderation in the use of sculpture is therefore necessary in the front of a house and its entrance structure. A display that is too bold of statues and sculpture might be more appropriate for places like Athens and Rome in their heighdays where, according to Wotton, there was an abundance of “Magnificent and Majesticall Desires” in every common person according to their fortunues.⁵⁸

A third consideration in the placing of sculpture concerns the colouring of the niches in which sculpture is placed, for which Wotton recommended a “Duskish Tincture”, rather than an “absolute blacke”, because our sight is not used to extremities.⁵⁹ The next consideration also takes vision into account when it recommended closeness for delicate and fine sculpture and visual

⁵⁶ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 103.

⁵⁷ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 103.

⁵⁸ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 106.

⁵⁹ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 104.

distance for cruder work. A fifth and last consideration is related to this, as it recommended the high placed figures to bend a little forward because, and here Wotton followed Vitruvius,

the visual beame of our eye, extended to the
Head of the said Figures, being longer then
to the Foote, must necessarily make that part
appeare farther; so as to reduce it to an erect
or upright position, there must be allowed a
due advantage of stooping towards us.⁶⁰

Next Wotton continued with the description of the “Inferior Arts” like mosaics, sculpture, garden ornaments and design and such. This concludes the part on ornaments.

II.4. Judging Architecture

Wotton finished his treatise with a chapter on method. He described it as a methodical direction of criticizing built architecture. Since in approaching a building our first sight is caught by the ornaments, the method of criticism is contrary to the method of composing. One works from the ornaments to “the more essential members till at last hee be able to forme his Conclusion, that the Worke is Commodious, Firme, and Delightful; which (as I said in the beginning) are the three capitall Conditions required in good Buildings, by all authors ancient and modern”.⁶¹ Wotton described some other ways of censuring, such as Vasari’s which compared the whole building to the shape of a man, or that of Vitruvius which divided up his subject in six considerations (*ordinatio, dispositio,*

⁶⁰ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 105.

⁶¹ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 116.

eurhythmia, symmetria, decor, distributio) which make up the whole art of building.⁶²

III. ANALYSIS OF *THE ELEMENTS OF ARCHITECTURE*

III.1. Rhetorical models used in The Elements of Architecture

In this section I will give an outline of the structure of *The Elements of Architecture*. While doing this I will attempt to find the model Wotton used to structure his treatise. In the preface to *The Elements* Wotton stated his goals. After acknowledging his debt to Vitruvius and Alberti he claimed there are two ways to discuss his subject. One way is a historical way, as Vasari used in his *Lives*. The other way is ‘logical’. Wotton explained this as a way in which the “rules and cautions” of the subject can be formulated systematically. He explained that examples will only function as illustrations of the rules, and examples can only be judged if the rules precede the examples in the text.

The first part of *The Elements* starts with a definition. Wotton stated: “In Architecture as in all other operative Arts, the end must direct the Operation. The End is to build well”. So after stating his goals in the preface, Wotton now mentioned his subject. This is architecture, and the goal of each architect must be to build well. To achieve this, the method must be teleological, that is based on the goal. In order to arrange the rules and cautions of architecture into a method, Wotton needed to organize these rules, that is, to impose a hierarchy. The rules of architecture are based on the aim of every architect, which is to build well. The three

⁶² Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, pp. 117-120.

conditions for this are derived from Vitruvius: commodity, firmness, and delight.⁶³ Even though Wotton subsequently divides his book in two parts, one can distinguish a rough parallel with the Vitruvian triad of *firmitas*, *utilitas* and *venustas*. In part one of *The Elements of Architecture* Wotton discussed the situation of a building, and the building itself. One can interpret these parts of his treatise as roughly following the Vitruvian principles of commodity and firmness. Vitruvius however describes the two principles quite differently because firmness mostly refers to foundations and building materials and commodity to the use of the building and the disposition and allocation of space.⁶⁴

The second part of Wotton's text discusses ornament, but nowhere does he refer to beauty or delight. He does not define beauty and certainly does not state that beauty derives from Proportion, symmetry and disposition such as Vitruvius precribes.⁶⁵ Wotton does not present ornament and beauty as related topics. Wotton suggested that ornament can provide the onlooker with associations, and so to speak 'set the scene' for the visitor. Ornament is something added to the building that can help with evoking the intended image in the onlooker's mind. In his tract he discussed the situation and the parts of a building, and a large part of his tract is devoted to ornament. But nowhere did Wotton refer to beauty or how to achieve that. So although Wotton starts his tract with a reference to Vitruvius' definition of architecture, nowhere did Wotton actually enlarge upon this any further and a parallel

⁶³ Vitruvius, *The Ten Books on Architecture*, I.3.2.

⁶⁴ Vitruvius, *The Ten Books on Architecture*, I.3.2.

⁶⁵ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 82, 88, 103. See also section III.4.

between Wotton's division of his tract and Vitruvius' triad should therefore not be sought.⁶⁶

Wotton first dealt with the situation of a building, secondly with the building itself, and finally he discussed the decoration of a building. Apart from this teleological structure, Wotton consequently followed another guideline throughout, which is to state general rules first, and particular cases last. In this he deviates significantly from Vitruvius' much looser treatment of his topics. The first chapter on the situation of a building is sub-divided into a paragraph on the general situation, and a paragraph on the situation of specific parts. Similarly, the second chapter on the building itself is sub-divided into a paragraph on the choosing of the materials and a paragraph on the particular disposition of these materials in the specific parts of a building. The chapter on ornaments is divided into a paragraph on the choice, and a paragraph on the disposition of ornaments.

So although Wotton considered the Vitruvian triad as the condition of all good architecture, he in fact followed a different structure. In all three chapters Wotton worked from the selection of the general material (landscape, building material, decoration material) to the right application of this material in a building. He divided his treatise not only into these three parts, but made another division between the situation of the building (chapter one) and the building itself (chapter two), and a third division between the building (part one) and its ornaments (part two).

⁶⁶ See for Vitruvius and his definition of architecture Ingrid D. Rowland's introduction in her translation of Vitruvius' text (1999) and also Wilson Jones (2000), pp. 44-45. Vitruvius, *The Ten Books on Architecture*, I.3.2.

III.1.a. Architecture as a Productive Art

What model did Wotton use for structuring his treatise? The first line of his treatise already gives a clue. Wotton considered architecture as an “Operative Art”. This draws on the Aristotelian tradition in which the arts and sciences are divided into three categories (universal arts, the sciences, and the operative arts).⁶⁷ Wotton, however, clearly stated in his preface that he drew on Alberti and Vitruvius in his *Elements*. But Vitruvius was more a “master of proportion, than of method”, so for the method Wotton had to rely on Alberti.⁶⁸ Alberti’s *De re aedificatoria* (1485) was not structured according to Vitruvius’s *De architectura*, as was recently argued by Caroline van Eck.⁶⁹ Instead the main structure of Alberti’s treatise followed the traditional structure for a productive art as described by Plato and Aristotle. Alberti structured his treatise, in which he sought to supply architecture with a method and thereby raise its status from the mechanical arts to the liberal arts, according to the system of *definition – parts - causes and effects*. First he defined his subject and discussed the nature of building itself (lineaments, materials, work of building), secondly he divided his subject into parts and treated the different categories of buildings (public and private, sacred and secular) and lastly he analysed the causes and effects of beauty and harmony and the norms of good architecture (firmness, commodity, and delight).⁷⁰ The choice of his method was based on his goal, which was, according to Van Eck “an enquiry into the principles of architecture

⁶⁷ Van Eck (1998), p. 287; Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, VI.iv.2-6.

⁶⁸ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 2.

⁶⁹ Van Eck (1998).

⁷⁰ Van Eck (1998), pp. 285, 293-4.

considered as an essential contribution to civilized society”.⁷¹ He then used the traditional method prescribed by Socrates in the *Phaedrus* for an inquiry into the true nature of eloquence or any other productive art. He could draw on Aristotle, Plato and Quintilian as a model for his treatise on architecture, since rhetorical handbooks were the only books that offered him a systematic treatment of an art.

Wotton’s division of his subject, architecture, clearly followed the same structural outline as Alberti’s text, the classical rhetorical handbooks and hence, the traditional structure of a text on a productive art as prescribed by Aristotle. Wotton often acknowledged Alberti’s *De re aedificatoria* as his model, but was certainly familiar with most classical rhetorical handbooks. He regularly referred to Quintilian, who he called the “elegantest and soundest of all Roman pens” as we have seen, and quoted a long passage from the *Institutio Oratoria* on the variety of styles in his *Elements of Architecture*.⁷² The structure used in the classical rhetorical handbooks, such as Cicero’s *De Oratore*, Aristotle’s *Rhetoric* or Quintilian’s *Institutio Oratoria*, can clearly be discerned behind the structure of *The Elements of Architecture*.

III.1.b. Genus and Species

Wotton began his treatise with the situation of a building. He stated that he was going to discuss the precepts belonging to this subject, and he will divide this chapter into rules that refer to the general structure (or “Totall Posture” as he called it) and rules that refer to

⁷¹ Van Eck (1998), p. 292.

⁷² Wotton, *A Philosophical Survey*, pp. 82-3; Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 90-94; Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, XII.x.3-12.

the location of particular parts. Wotton worked from generalities to particulars throughout his whole treatise, as mentioned above. This too, is derived from classical examples. Aristotle stated that within the traditional structure of *definition – division – causes and effects* one must work from generalities to particulars.⁷³ This system of “definition by analytical subdivision” into genus and species was used throughout classical literature on productive arts.⁷⁴ Quintilian divided rhetoric into three genera. Other stylistic variations or species would fall under these three genera.⁷⁵ In every chapter in the *Elements* Wotton started with the general subject matter, landscape, building or decoration, and continued in a second paragraph with the application and disposition of this material. He thus divided his subject into three genera, and subsequently analysed their particulars.

III.1.c. Invention and Disposition

As in rhetorical handbooks, theory followed practice in Wotton’s treatise: the structure of rhetorical treatises followed the order of the actual process of writing and delivering a speech. That means that in the exposition of the art of rhetoric Quintilian began with the invention, or the assembling of the material, followed by the disposition, the ordering of the material and then continued with *elocution*, memory and action, which is the same order as recommended for writing and delivering a speech. Wotton, and Alberti in his first three books, followed the same structure. Besides the first structural method, in which Wotton used the rhetorical and Aristotelian triad of *definition – division – causes and effects*, there

⁷³ Quoted from Wright (1984), p. 53 [Aristotle, *Physica*, 184 a].

⁷⁴ Wright (1984), p. 53.

⁷⁵ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, III.iv.14-15.

is a second structural line used within this first structural method. This second structuring principle follows the practice of building, and is inspired by the guidelines of rhetorical handbooks, which used the practical system of *invention – disposition – elocution*, which follow the order of writing a speech.

Definition			
Ars	Division..... Causes & Effects (generalities to particulars)	I. Seate	Invention - Disposition
		II.1. Principal parts.....	Invention - Disposition
		II.2. Ornament.....	Elocutio

III.1.d. Structure and Ornament

In Wotton's text there are two parts, clearly separated, which analyse structure and ornament. The parallel division within rhetoric between *res*, the subject matter of a speech, and *verba*, the verbal representation of the subject matter, seems tempting. But nowhere did Wotton point out any parallel with language or speech. It also seems that the style and the experience of architecture not only consists of the applied ornaments (although that is an important part of it), but certainly as well of the correct application of other factors for a successful building, that is, the situation in the landscape, the choice of building materials and the disposition of its main parts. The 'beautifying of the fabrique' added to the main structure was already described. Ornament added character to the building, a character which can tell the visitor something about its inhabitant or owner. It added associations to the structure,

associations “according to the degree of the Master”.⁷⁶ Therefore ornament can better be compared with the rhetorical figures of speech, used to enliven the speech and highlight parts of it.⁷⁷

III.1.e. Ars - Artifex

In the final chapter Wotton stressed that an architectural critic should always start with examining himself first, so as to rule out any unfair prejudices. This exposition of the character of the critic corresponds with the last chapters of Quintilian’s *Institutio Oratoria*, where he discussed the duties and character of a good orator. Even though Wotton labelled his last chapter a “chapter touching method”, one can consider this last part practical. After dividing his subject into parts and principles, and treating all the elements of these parts, Wotton described how to apply these elements in the process of judging architecture. A treatise on painting, published 26 years before Wotton’s treatise followed the same structure. In Lomazzo’s *Trattato dell’arte della pittura* (1584), partially translated by Robert Haydocke in 1598, the author stated the structure of his treatise and continued by writing that he had added “a sixth booke, wherein I will handle that Practically, which in the five former bookes is taught Theoretically, because the order of Teaching requireth, that the Practice should follow the speculation”.⁷⁸

In dividing his elements of architecture, Wotton decided to follow the practice of the critic who is confronted with the decoration of the building first. From there, a critic can study the building further and find the principal parts and its general layout.

⁷⁶ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 82.

⁷⁷ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 82.

⁷⁸ Lomazzo, *A Tracte Containing the Artes*, p.11.

He seems to peel the layers of the building away and ends up with the essential parts. The treatment of the elements of architecture, then, work from the inside out, and starts with the general elements and works itself outwards to the parts and the added decoration. In this Wotton also followed the practice of the architect, who begins with the collection of his material, then orders and arranges it and finally beautifies it. This is the same structure as rhetorical handbooks used in order to describe the art of rhetoric: invention, disposition and *elocution* are there three elements of designing a speech. As the structure of Wotton's treatise is based on rhetorical guidelines for writing, so the actual vocabulary that these rhetorical writings used can also be found in the *Elements*. An analysis of Wotton's use of this vocabulary will be presented in the next section.

III.2. Rhetorical Vocabulary used in The Elements of Architecture

III.2.a. Proportion and harmony

Architecture, music and painting have taken over various terms from rhetorical vocabulary. In music alone one can find words like theme, motive, phrase, metrics, rhythm, period, exposition, episode, accent, figure, style, composition.⁷⁹ A similar situation can be found in the other arts. Quintilian described the ideal orator's education as one that includes of most liberal arts, including music and geometry. Especially music can be a very helpful art to the orator since he stated "Give me the knowledge of the principles of music

⁷⁹ Vickers (1989), p. 361.

which have power to excite or assuage the emotions of mankind”.⁸⁰ Or later in his treatise: “the studies of [musical] structure is of the utmost value, not merely for charming the ear, but for stirring the soul”.⁸¹ Cicero argued in his *Orator* that speech and music had the same sensory (and persuasive) effect.⁸²

In the description of doors and windows, or the “Inlets of Men and Light”, Wotton followed Alberti’s rules for proportioning these openings. Alberti, Wotton wrote, used a rule from the School of Pythagoras in which the “image of things [is] latent in numbers”. In short, according to this rule, the proportions used in sound can be applied to visible things. So a harmony of sight follows the same proportions as a harmony of sound. According to Wotton, the “two principall Consonances that most ravish the Eare”, are the fifth and the Octave. These come from a proportion of 2:3 and 1:2. If these musical proportional rules are applied to windows and doors, Wotton argued, “there will indubitably result from either, a graceful and harmonious contentment, to the Eye”.⁸³ For Wotton harmony consisted in correct proportions. Proportions were right when applied in analogue to the divine order of nature, which is mathematical in character. Nature and man were ideal examples of this divine nature. Hence Wotton recommended distributing the parts of a building according to the composition of man.⁸⁴ Only when an architect is aware of the mathematical causes and effects of his craft can he “ravish the beholder by a secret harmony in the proportions”.⁸⁵ The final end of harmony and right proportions,

⁸⁰ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, I.x.31.

⁸¹ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, IX.iv.9.

⁸² Smith (1992), pp. 93-94.

⁸³ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, pp. 52-54.

⁸⁴ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, pp. 29, 39, 117.

⁸⁵ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, pp. 21.

however, is the ‘ravishment’ and ‘contentment to the eye’ and, as such, Wotton emphasized the viewer and not the building.

Wotton drew on Alberti and indirectly on Pythagoras to include musical structuring in the art of the architect, claiming the similarity between the concept of harmony in both arts. This fits the Neoplatonic world view that God’s principles are applied and can be found in nature and man. Man will be able to recognize the harmony of these principles with human nature and the human body. Nature, man, arts and science, then, all share the same basic principles and hence can draw on its respective rules. In his *Survey on Education*, Wotton stated that

generally, in Nature, the best outward shapes are also the likeliest to be consociated with good inward faculties: for this Conclusion hath somewhat from the Divine Light: since God himself made this great World (whereof Man is the little Model) of such Harmonious Beauty in all the parts, to be the Receptacle of his perfect Creature.⁸⁶

The distribution of the parts of the human body, the parts of a speech or the parts of a building should all follow the same principles, and only then harmony exists. Wotton encouraged the architect to be more than a “vulgar artizan” and reminded his reader that Vitruvius recommended an architect to be “a diver into Causes and into the Mysteries of proportion”.⁸⁷ Drawing on Alberti Wotton located these causes and mysteries of proportions in the

⁸⁶ Wotton, *A Philosophical Survey*, p. 79. See also Koenigsberger (1979), pp. 2-41; Krays (1988), p. 312; Sharpe (2000), pp. 43-46; Tillyard (1950), p. 25, pp. 60-73.

⁸⁷ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 55.

mathematical structure of harmony which also underlies musical harmony. These ideas came from Plato's Pythagorean philosophy which became more popular during the Renaissance. John Dee described the all-covering value of mathematics in his 1570 preface to Euclid's *Elements of Geometry* like this:

Number hath a treble state: One, in the Creator, an other in every Creature (in respect of his complete constitution); and the third, in spirituall and Angelicall Myndes, and in the Soule of man.⁸⁸

He quoted the Roman philosopher and statesman Boetius (c.475–525 A.D.), in his preface, writing

By *Numbers* propertie therefore, of us by all possible meanes (to the perfection of the Science) learned, awe may both winde and draw our selves into the inward and deepe search and vew, of all creatures distinct virtues, natures, properties, and *Formes*. And also, farder, anise, clime, ascend and mount up (with speculative winges) in spirit, to behold in the Glas of Creation, the *Forme of Formes*, the *Exemplar* of all thinges *Numerable*, both visible and invisible, mortall and immortall, Corporall and Spirituall.⁸⁹

In *De re aedificatoria* Alberti stressed the importance of musical structuring when composing a building. Inspired by Cicero Alberti

⁸⁸ Dee, *Mathematical Preface*.

⁸⁹ Dee, *Mathematical Preface* .

believed that the same mathematics that were at the basis of pleasing music were at the basis of the pleasures of the eyes and mind.⁹⁰ For Wotton, the role of mathematics was less formally structured, but it played an important role in the principles of order, harmony and beauty, innate in all parts of nature and in man. His prescriptive rules for proportion are derived from rhetorical rules on harmony and proportion which in turn are based on Plato's Pythagorean philosophy of music and mathematics.

III.2.b. Congruity

In the distribution of the parts of a building Wotton stated that "gracefulness" can only consist in a "double Analogie or correspondencie. First, between the Parts and the Whole [...]. The next between the Parts themselves".⁹¹ This concept closely follows Alberti's words when he described the concept of *concinnitas*, or closely knit unity in his *De re aedificatoria*.⁹² Wotton described that a building should be composed like the members of a human body, "for surely, there can be no Structure, more uniforme, then our Bodies in the Whole Figuration: Each side, agreeing with the other, both in the number, in the qualitie, and in the measure of the Parts."⁹³ This concept is close to Vitruvius's description of *symmetria* and *dispositio*, but more to Alberti's claim (who followed Cicero in this) that a building should be composed like a human body. Beauty can then only exist when there is "a reasoned harmony of all the parts within a body, so that nothing may be

⁹⁰ Tavernor (1998), p. 47 [Alberti, *de re aedificatoria*, IX.5]

⁹¹ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 66.

⁹² See Tavernor (1998), pp. 43-46; Van Eck (1998), p. 290. Alberti describes the concept of *concinnitas* in his book IX chapter v of his *De re aedificatoria*.

⁹³ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, 21.

added, taken away or altered, but for the worse”.⁹⁴ The notion of a body, a human body which is the ideal model for any work of art is a frequent and important theme in rhetoric. Quintilian mentioned that the parts of a speech “must form a body, not a congeries of limbs”.⁹⁵ The composition of a building is used by him to illustrate the problems common to architecture and rhetoric:

But just as it is not sufficient for those who are erecting a building merely to collect stone and timber and other building materials, but skilled masons are required to arrange and place them, so in speaking, however abundant the matter may be, it will merely form a confused heap unless arrangement be employed to reduce it to order and to give it connexion and firmness of structure. Nor is it without good reason that arrangement is treated as the second of the five departments of oratory, since without it the first is useless. For the fact that all the limbs of a statue have been cast does not make it a statue: they must be put together; and if you were to interchange some one portion of our bodies or of those of other animals with another, although the body would be in possession of

⁹⁴ Quoted from Tavernor (1998), p. 43 [Alberti, *de re aedificatoria*, IX.5.].

⁹⁵ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, VII.x.17.

all the same members as before, you would
none the less have produced a monster.⁹⁶

Disposition is the design activity shared by rhetoric and
architecture, and the foundation of sound structure in both arts.

III.2.c. Decorum

Throughout *The Elements of Architecture* the concept of appropriateness, or decorum plays an important part. According to Wotton every great house should have corresponding great rooms, lights, entrances and pillars, “in summe, all the members great”.⁹⁷ Unwritten, but equally important is the modesty of a house for the less fortunate. In Italian houses, Wotton observed, there is a lack of privacy which does not correspond with the reserved character of the Italian people. Wotton argued that there should never be a conflict between the “Dwelling and the Being”.⁹⁸ In his chapter on decoration, he stated his opinions even clearer:

Every Mans proper Mansion House and
Home, being the Theatre of his Hospitality,
the Seate of Selfe-fruition, the Comfortablest
part of his own Life, the Noblest of his
Sonnes Inheritance, a kinde of private
Princedome; Nay, to the Possessors therof,
an Epitomie of the whole World: may well
deserve by these Attributes, according to the

⁹⁶ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, VII.pr.1-3.

⁹⁷ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, pp. 66-67.

⁹⁸ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 74.

degree of the Master, to be decently and delightfully adorned.⁹⁹

So the decoration of a house should always be applied “according to the degree of the Master”, in other words, it should be as rich and luxurious as the house owner is wealthy, and as stately as he is modest. Which ‘degree’ a house owner can assume is described by Wotton in evocative words. A man’s house is, according to Wotton, the symbol of his life, his rank and his morals and should be adorned accordingly. Next Wotton embarks on a description of the different ways to adorn a building, the two most important being painting and sculpture.

Earlier in his treatise Wotton had discussed the classical orders of architecture. He treated them under the head of Walls, as he considered them ‘intermitted walls’.¹⁰⁰

The intermissions (as hath beene sayd) are either by Pillars, or Pylasters.

Pillers which we may likewise call Columnes (for the word among Artificers is almost naturallized) I could distinguish into Simple & Compounded. But (to tread the beaten and plainest way) there are five Orders of Pillers, according to their dignity and perfection, thus marshalled:

The Tuscan

The Dorique

The Ionique

The Corinthian

⁹⁹ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 82.

¹⁰⁰ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 29.

And the Compound Order, or some call it
the Roman, others more generally the Italian.
In which five Orders I will first consider their
Communities, and then their Proprieties.¹⁰¹

Wotton “marshalled” the orders in the usual order “According to their dignity and perfection”. The choice of the word ‘marshall’ could give the reader the first indication of how Wotton viewed these orders, since this is a heraldic term. The orders are ‘marshalled’ according to their ‘dignity’, which suggests first an anthropomorphical reading and subsequently an ethical connotation attached to the classical orders. The description of the different orders will strengthen this suggestion further.

Wotton ordered the five classical orders of architecture according to their ethical connotations and social status, and labelled the orders as ‘characters’.¹⁰² He followed Vitruvius, who developed the ethical connotations for the Doric, Ionic and Corinthian orders in the first place.¹⁰³ The first order Wotton discussed is the Tuscan, and Wotton described it as a “plain, massie, rurall Pillar, resembling some sturdy well-limmed Labourer, homely clad”.¹⁰⁴ The use of the term ‘rural’ distinguished its “rank” among the other orders. Again, the term ‘rank’ fits in with the anthropomorphical, hierarchical and ethical image Wotton painted of the use of the orders, together with the earlier use of terms like ‘marshalling’ and ‘dignity’.

The second order, the Doric order, is described as “the gravest that hath beene received into civill use, preserving, in

¹⁰¹ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, pp. 29-30.

¹⁰² Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 37.

¹⁰³ Vitruvius, *The Ten Books on Architecture*, IV.i.

¹⁰⁴ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 33.

comparison of those that follow, a more Masculine Aspect, and little trimmer then the Tuscan that went before”. Again Wotton placed this order in the hierarchy, and designated it the “lowest by all Congruity, as being more massie then the other three, and consequently abler to support”.¹⁰⁵ Wotton still gave the order an ethical, almost human, character, which makes it very clear how and when to use it. But, he stated, “to discern him, will bee a peece rather of good Heraldry, then of Architecture: For he is best knowne by his place, when he is in company, and by the peculiar ornament of his Frize [...] when he is alone.”¹⁰⁶ This explains Wotton’s use of the term ‘marshalling’ when organizing the classical orders.

Wotton continued with the Ionic order, which he characterized as representing “a kinde of Feminine slendernesse, [...] not like a light Housewife, but in a decent dressing, hath much of the Matrone”. The Corinthian order is much richer, “in short, As Plainnesse did characterize the Tuscan, so much Delicacie and Varietie the Corinthian Pillar”.¹⁰⁷ The last Compounded or Composite order is “nothing in effect, but a Medlie, or an Amasse of all the precedent Ornaments, making a new kinde, by stealth, and though the most richly tricked, yet the poorest in this, that he is a borrower of all his Beautie”.¹⁰⁸

The term decorum was used by Vitruvius in his ten books on architecture, but it has a history in rhetoric. *Decor* and its Greek equivalent propriety (*to prepon*) had a general meaning, which over time has been used in a general way. *Decor* permeated the whole of

¹⁰⁵ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 35.

¹⁰⁶ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 36. See also Hart (1993).

¹⁰⁷ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 38.

¹⁰⁸ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 38.

Classical ethics and behaviour. Decorum has acquired a more specialised meaning in rhetoric and in the Renaissance in the visual arts, meaning suitability and appropriateness.¹⁰⁹ Aristotle has described the term decorum extensively in his *Ethics* and *Rhetoric* and described it as that what is natural and fitting.

Traditionally it was linked with music and rhetoric where it pointed towards the appropriate choice of style.¹¹⁰ Cicero applied the concept of *decor* in his *De officiis* where he insisted “rich and important people should live in impressive houses”.¹¹¹ Cicero stressed the importance of the rank of the house owner in relation to his house. Especially when taking over someone else’s house one needs to make sure that one dwells not on another man’s fortunes. “For it is unpleasant, when passers-by remark: “O good old house, alas! How different the owner who now owneth thee!” And in these times that may be said of many a house!”¹¹² And he continues later: “One must be careful, too, not to go beyond proper bounds in expense and display, especially if one is building for oneself”.¹¹³

Quintilian described the rules and advice concerning decorum extensively in his *Institutio Oratoria*. When choosing the style of a speech, one needs to take into account the situation, the subject and the persons concerned. Any ornaments applied to the speech should be adapted to the matter at hand.¹¹⁴ He stressed the importance of the right choice quoting Cicero’s *De oratore*, since “one single style of oratory is not suited to every case, nor to every

¹⁰⁹ See Payne (1999), pp. 52-56; Oxford Latin Dictionary (1968), s.v. ‘decorum’.

¹¹⁰ See Payne (1999), pp. 52-56.

¹¹¹ Cicero, *De officiis*, I.xxxix.138-140; Onians (1988), pp. 37-38.

¹¹² Cicero, *De officiis*, I.xxxix.138.

¹¹³ Cicero, *De officiis*, I.xxxix.140.

¹¹⁴ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, XI.i.2.

audience, nor every speaker, nor every occasion".¹¹⁵ And, "We shall employ different methods according as we are speaking before the emperor, a magistrate, a senator, a private citizen, or merely a free man".¹¹⁶ The different styles in oratory must be chosen with the situation at hand in mind. Only then will the orator use the right words at the right time and place. Aristotle referred to different *characters*, characters of man and his corresponding style of speech. Each character has its own part to play in rhetorical theory. So was the first or Attic style plain and simple, used for instruction. The second style was called Asiatic and was known to be rich, embellished and passionate.¹¹⁷ It was used for charming and persuasion. Quintilian described the orator who used this style as

he whose eloquence is like to some great torrent that rolls down rocks and 'disdains a bridge', and carves out its own banks for itself, will sweep the judge from his feet, struggle as he may, and force him to go whither he bears him. This is the orator that will call the dead to life.¹¹⁸

The third style is an intermediate style and consists of words of a lower, yet not of the lowest and most colloquial, class of words. It was called the Rhodian style and was used for moving the audience's feelings or simply for pleasure. Obviously the three rhetorical styles were called after the supposedly region of origin.

¹¹⁵ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, XI.i.4.

¹¹⁶ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, XI.i.43.

¹¹⁷ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, XII.x.16-18.

¹¹⁸ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, XII.x.60-61.

The local characters of each region were thought to be represented in the characteristics of the three styles.¹¹⁹

When Vitruvius described the classical orders of architecture he used a comparable division. The orders were described as Doric, Ionic and Corinthian, corresponding to the supposed regions of origin. With the regions, the orders gained an ethical note as when the Doric order is described as manly and muscular. The division of styles in rhetoric were an obvious model for Vitruvius when he drew up his classification of the orders.¹²⁰ In rhetoric the styles were considered as characters, each suitable to specific circumstances.¹²¹ Wotton described the architectural orders following Vitruvius and called them “his best characters”. The personalisation of the orders has a history that was greatly influenced by Francesco di Giorgio when he depicted the classical orders as based on the human figure.¹²² Vitruvius and later also Alberti and Serlio acknowledged human proportions to be the basis of good proportions. When John Shute published his *First and Chief Grounds on Architecture* in the late sixteenth century he followed this tradition as he represented each order as a human figure. The Doric order was transformed into a Hercules figure and the Ionic order into a voluptuous Roman *matrona*, very much as Wotton would describe the order later in the seventeenth century. John Shute’s representation of the orders was related to the Elizabethan tradition of emblems and heraldry and so was Wotton’s description of them.¹²³ As Vaughan Hart has pointed out in his article on heraldry and architecture “...emblems themselves clearly

¹¹⁹ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, XII.x.17.

¹²⁰ Onians (1988), pp. 37-38.

¹²¹ Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, III.7.

¹²² Onians (1988), pp. 171-181.

¹²³ Hart (1993), p. 63.

were linked to architectural composition. The emblematic frontispiece frequently had [...] an architectural framework, and the occult art of artificial memory united emblem with real architecture".¹²⁴ As such the orders are densely packed with metaphorical meaning on top of the already evocative moral connotations ascribed to the orders by Vitruvius and later Alberti, Giorgio and Serlio.¹²⁵

III.3. Architecture as a Panegyric

Recently, some publications on Wotton have provided new insights into the way Wotton discussed the classical orders of architecture.¹²⁶ Unfortunately these publications assume that *The Elements* is a book on orders, in which the classical orders are considered as the main ingredients of architecture. On the other hand these recent publications do explore the rich layers of meaning found in the treatise. Vaughan Hart, for example, explains the common ground between architecture, heraldry and emblems. This suggests the ethical connotations Wotton applied to architecture. But as we have seen, his treatise is in my opinion much more than just another book on orders.

When Wotton decided to write a treatise on architecture his goal was not to teach architects or craftsmen how to build in the classical style. His goal was to introduce a specific way of appreciating architecture. Like Vitruvius and Alberti before him, he wrote not a handbook for builders, but a book addressed to people who needed to understand classical architecture. By writing a

¹²⁴ Hart (1993), p. 62; See also Anderson (1995), pp.259-263.

¹²⁵ Onians (1988), p. 38.

¹²⁶ Anderson (1995), p. 255; Hart (1995) (1993).

treatise in the Aristotelian and rhetorical manner he showed that architecture is not a craft but a liberal art, worthy of study; by showing its political meaning he alerted his fellow aristocrats to the importance and legitimacy of the patronage of architecture as a gentlemanly pursuit.

His *Elements of Architecture* is not a treatise in the same style as many continental architectural treatises. Wotton did not want to provide an order book or pattern book, but instead the rules of architecture considered as an art. In doing this, he supplied architecture with a method, a theoretical system on which an architect, but more so a critic could rely. He systematically laid down the elements of architecture, just as Euclid had done for geometry. Euclid's *The Elements of Geometry* was especially known to Wotton by the 1570 edition with preface by John Dee, an astrologer with a special interest in architecture. He believed that the principles of architecture were based in mathematics and as such the person who is an expert in architecture is an expert in mathematics. In the Neoplatonic world picture of that period, mathematics was at the basis of the whole natural world. The study of architecture, then, became the study of the principles of the whole natural world. He pleaded for the study of architecture because of the qualities it had as a universal discipline, capable of solving a wide spectrum of questions on the natural world.¹²⁷ By giving this title to his treatise Wotton referred to Dee's claim on universality for architecture. In a display of the mathematical and universal qualities of architecture, Wotton could prove architecture was a systematic discipline.

¹²⁷ Smuts (1987), pp. 147-8.

In providing architecture with a systematic method Wotton lifted architecture up in a hierarchy of arts and sciences. Architecture would no longer be considered as a mere craft, but since there is a true method at its base, architecture could function in the highest regions of the humanist curriculum. Wotton put the many functions and effects of architecture into words, and hence, far exceeded any practical guide for building country houses. His treatise on architecture does not fit into the corpus of continental treatises on architecture. He does not provide plates that explain and illustrate his subject, he does not discuss the five classical orders as extensively as most treatises do and he expressively addressed the gentleman reader instead of the architect. What he did, is write a classical panegyric to architecture, dividing his subject into clear cut parts, describing its virtues and vices and provide a systematic system of judging architecture.¹²⁸

In describing the principles and parts of architecture instead of providing a book of examples, Wotton implicitly recommended architecture to his reader. Quintilian already stated in the *Institutio Oratoria*, that a panegyric is advisory in character and aims at displaying the virtues and vices of the subject.¹²⁹ In classical rhetoric the panegyric is one of the three genres of rhetoric, existing besides the judicial and the deliberative. The epideictic genre (of which the panegyric was a part) became more important after the end of the Roman republic. In the later Roman Empire rhetoric became less connected with politics as the power of the sole ruler expanded. Epideictic rhetoric was left to develop, and became the most used genre in medieval and renaissance literature.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, III.vii.23-28.

¹²⁹ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, III.iv.14.

¹³⁰ Vickers (1989), pp. 53-4.

According to Plato, Aristotle and Quintilian the panegyric was concerned with ethics. Praise and blame were the main ingredients for the panegyric, which could be applied to all kinds of subjects, ranging from gods, heroes, men, cities, and places to buildings.¹³¹ Even though there were always critics of this rhetorical genre, it held its strong position until the eighteenth century. Cicero wrote some critical notes on the genre, stating that it was merely concerned with display and entertainment, and does not have any practical value.¹³² But Aristotle and Quintilian gave the panegyric a social function too, since in praising or attacking a person or a subject, one is also attempting to persuade the reader of the worthiness and usefulness of the subject. Aristotle wrote “to praise a man is in one respect akin to urging a course of action”.¹³³ And it is important to involve the listener or reader in the case reviewed by including “himself or his family or his way of life or something or other of the kind”.¹³⁴ Introductions to these type of speeches are vital to set the pace of the following text and Aristotle and Quintilian gave plenty of advice on how to begin a text. One must not forget, Quintilian noted, three points of attention. These points are “the nature of the subject under attention, secondly the nature of those who are engaged in the discussion, and thirdly the nature of the speaker who offers them advice”.¹³⁵ Wotton did not really have to make an effort to put his own weight on the treatise. His authority as an art connoisseur was long established. A rather modest preface would therefore suffice to strengthen his case. He gave credit to Vitruvius and Alberti which, according to Aristotle,

¹³¹ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, III.vii.7-28.

¹³² Vickers (1989), p. 57, Cicero, *De Oratore*, II.84.340.

¹³³ Vickers (1989), p. 55.

¹³⁴ Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, II.14.

¹³⁵ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, III.viii.15.

is a usual subject for the introduction of a panegyric. Aristotle advised other options for introductions as to start with a piece of advice, or “an appeal to the audience to excuse us if our speech is about something paradoxical, difficult, or hackneyed.”¹³⁶ Wotton followed all three pieces of advice, as he excused himself against some objections one might have against his undertaking, he implicitly advised architecture as a good way to occupy a “noble mind” and he acknowledged his masters in architectural theory. The praise of architecture is undertaken in the form of a systematical outline and detailed description of the principles and parts of architecture.

Wotton’s panegyric to architecture then, was aimed at a presentation of the discipline as a liberal art and a pursuit worthy of a gentleman. By giving architecture a method he tried to elevate its status as a gentlemanly pursuit and leave behind the medieval craftsman-architect. He summed up the rules for good architecture and with that, the ‘virtues and vices’ of the discipline. He urged a reader to consider the social and ethical connotations attached to a building. The panegyric was the most suitable genre for him to reach his end. His rhetorical skills were long known to his contemporaries, because of his many letters and reports, and his fame as a host in Venice. He gave another demonstration of these skills with this treatise. *The Elements of Architecture* consisted of the ‘virtues and vices’ of the discipline and also uncovered its systematical character.

¹³⁶ Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, II.14.

III.4. The 'Mute Eloquence' of Art

We have seen that Wotton used rhetoric to structure his treatise on architecture, but the influence of rhetoric reached further than that. Wotton had a rhetorical view on art in general as well, as we can see from his emphasis on the relation between the art and the onlooker and the visual impact of architecture. Many of these implications are present in the posthumously published *Reliquiae Wottonianae* (1651), which is a collection of some of Wotton's writings, including his *Survey of Education* (undated).

Since the Renaissance the humanist curriculum in elementary schools and universities had become standard. Grammar and rhetoric were two of the main topics taught to young gentlemen, and Latin was used as a second language to English. The study of rhetoric was useful for attaining and maintaining the status of a gentleman, a courtier or a clergyman. Humanist learning provided an extensive knowledge of classical texts and authors, but also stimulated the application of the newly found classical wisdom to current times, places and people. Wotton suggested that when reading history one should always read analytically, and select what is useful for current issues. Thus "A politique should find the characters of personages and apply them to some of the court he lives in, which will likewise confirm his memory and give scope and matter for conjecture and invention".¹³⁷ The fact that Wotton mentioned Quintilian frequently in his writings reminds us again of the importance attached to rhetoric. In the *Survey*, again, we find a paragraph which reveals something of the rhetorical aspects of his views on the impact of art on the beholder. He wrote:

¹³⁷ Quoted from Smuts (1999), p. 35 [Pearsall Smith (1907), p. 494.].

And we have a tradition of Quintilian himself, that when he saw any well-expressed Image of grief, either in Picture, or Sculpture, he would usually weep: For, being a Teacher of Oratory in School, he was perhaps affected with a passionate Piece of Art, as with a kinde of mute Eloquence. True it is indeed, which a great Master hath long before taught us, That Man is of all Creature the most Mimical, as a kind of near adjunct to Reason: Arguing, necessarily in those that can do it well, whether it be in Gestures, in Styles, in Speech, in Fashion, in Accents, or howsoever, no shallow Impression of Similitudes and Differences; about which in effect, is conversant the whole Wisdom of the World.¹³⁸

Quintilian referred to pictures and gestures “which are silent and motionless” and which “penetrate into our innermost feelings with such power that at times they seem more eloquent than language itself”.¹³⁹ He refers to the stage where orators can learn from the gestures and expression that actors make.¹⁴⁰ The “Great Master” Wotton referred to in the quote above must have been Aristotle, who in his *Poetics* referred to the mimetic qualities of men’s minds: “For it is an instinct of human beings, from childhood, to engage in mimesis (indeed, this distinguishes them from other animals: man is

¹³⁸ Wotton, *A Philosophical Survey*, p. 83.

¹³⁹ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, XI.iii.67.

¹⁴⁰ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, I.ii.

the most mimetic of all, and it is through mimesis that he develops his earliest understanding); and equally natural that everyone enjoys mimetic objects.”¹⁴¹ Rhetorical theorists stressed the need to follow nature closely.¹⁴² Quintilian urged the trainee orator to “fix your eyes on nature and follow her”.¹⁴³ Alberti also often wrote about the need to imitate nature in order to get the most realistic and lively results. ‘Movere’ is one of the main aims of a speech, according to the rhetorical theorists, and Alberti stressed this notion in his *De Pictura*.¹⁴⁴ In a painting, he argued, “nature provides [...] that we mourn with the mourners, laugh with those who laugh, and grieve with the griefstricken. Yet these feelings are known from movements of the body”.¹⁴⁵ Rhetoricians also use an extensive range of movements, gestures and expression to persuade their audience. Wotton followed Alberti when he recommended painting figures in a painting in a lively way, “as if they were acting on a Stage”, and referred to a country house as the inhabitant’s “Theatre of hospitality”.¹⁴⁶ His use of metaphors in which he refers to the theatre is based on the rhetorical idea that actors imitate natural speech, gestures and expression in order to persuade their audience of being ‘natural’ and hence, real. The same can be applied to

¹⁴¹ Aristotle, *Poetics*, IV.5.

¹⁴² Vickers (1989), p. 349.

¹⁴³ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, VIII.iii.71.

¹⁴⁴ Alberti, *On Painting*, pp. 75-81.

¹⁴⁵ Alberti, *On Painting*, p. 77.

¹⁴⁶ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, pp. 88, 82. Another example of the stage entering architectural theory can be found in the writings of the architect Sir Roger Pratt (1620-84), who wrote in his notebooks about country houses: “For things being thus ordered, when you first begin to come to the house, they will represent as it were a most beautiful *scene* to you [...]”. See also: Gunther (1928), p. 55. More research into the metaphorical connections between theatre and architecture is needed. See for example Whistler (1978).

painting, where figures need to look natural and realistic. The painting of lively figures drew directly on Alberti and rhetoricians' advice to imitate nature in order to persuade.

But Wotton drew a bigger picture than just this. Not only the gestures and movements of figures in a painting could be used to persuade an onlooker, but the building itself as well. A building might in Wotton's opinion be considered as a piece of stage design. A visitor would be confronted with the design and could subsequently enter the stage perform his or her part. This interpretation is confirmed by a paragraph in *The Elements* where Wotton discussed the placing of sculpture. He described the entrance to a building and called it "a sufficient entertainment, for the first Reception, of any Iudicious Sight, which I could wish seconded, with two great standing Statues on each Side of a paved way that shall leade up into the Fabrique, So as the Beholder at the first entrance, may passe his Eye betweene them".¹⁴⁷ The 'staged' house was a means to persuade a visitor.

The classical rhetorical handbooks, but also the rhetorical and poetical handbooks of early modern England, stressed the force of imitating real life and achieving vividness or *enargeia*. An orator could only persuade his audience if his choice of words, his expression and his gestures were drawn from a real situation. George Puttenham (circa 1528 - 1590), an English author on poetry and rhetoric, wrote in his *Arte of English Poesie* (1589):

all your figures Poeticall or Rhetoricall, are
but observations of strange speeches, and
such as without any arte at all we should
use, and commonly do, even by very nature

¹⁴⁷ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 103.

without discipline. [...] so as we may conclude, that nature herself suggesteth the figure in this or that forme, but arte aydeth the judgement of his use and application [...].¹⁴⁸

A speech or text was most convincing when one drew on such emotions from real life. The art of rhetoric formalized what was already there in nature, and hence the artist could develop and perfect the art.

Wotton referred to pieces of art as having “a kinde of mute Eloquence” in the quote from the *Survey*. In his panegyric to King Charles Wotton also referred to the ‘tongueless eloquence’ of art, when he described the paintings in the King’s collection.¹⁴⁹ The ‘mute eloquence’ Wotton mentioned can be connected to the long tradition of the interaction between painting and poetry. Horace’s famous ‘ut pictura poesis’, in which poetry could paint the mental landscape and painting could speak without words, was the leading thread in this tradition. The goals of poetry and rhetoric became similar to the goals of painting to instruct, move and charm the audience.¹⁵⁰ Between the fifteenth and eighteenth century Horace’s phrase and also Plutarch’s story about Simonides who would have spoken the famous words that ‘painting is a mute poetry, poetry a speaking picture’ became well known and common place.¹⁵¹ As late as 1735 the poet Hildebrand Jacob (1693-1739) wrote in ‘Of the

¹⁴⁸ Puttenham, *The arte of English Poesie*, III.24.51.

¹⁴⁹ Wotton, *A Panegyric to King Charles*, p. 155. He refers to the ‘silent poesie’ of lines, and the ‘tongueless eloquence’ of lights and shadows.

¹⁵⁰ See Gent (1981); Baxandall (1971); Lee (1940); Van Eck (2003).

¹⁵¹ Vickers (1989), pp. 341-342.

Sister Arts; An Essay' on the resemblance between poetry, painting and music, which was so great

that it is difficult to discourse upon either of them, particularly the two First, without that one of these Arts cannot well be explain'd, without giving some Insight into the other at the same Time.¹⁵²

And in 1718 an anonymous writer wrote in the periodical *The Free Thinker* that

The Perfection of a Master-Painter is, to be able to perform the same Wonders by Colours, which the Poet commands by language. His Ideas pass from his Mind into his Pencil, and rise up on the Canvass in their full Vigour and Proportion. His every Touch is a Creation: the Canvass is no longer a level, lifeless Surface; but a Scene, diversify'd with Buildings, Mountains, Forests; or, perhaps, a Sea, deformed with Tempests; A Sky, enraged with Storms, flashing out Lightning; and Clouds, bursting with Thunder: Or, a Field or War, stained with Blood, and filled with Uproar and Confusion: Or, perhaps, the silent, solitary Retreat of Sorrow and Despair; or, if he pleases, the enchanted Bower of Bliss, the

¹⁵² Jacob, *The Works*, 1735, pp. 379-380; Also quoted in Battestin (1989), pp. 2-3.

Residence of Love and Beauty. Such is the Efficacy of Words and Numbers; and such the Energy of Lights and Shades, under the Conduct of a Superior Genius: Both equally wonderful in their Operations; both equally pleasing.¹⁵³

The principles and terms from poetics and rhetoric were introduced and further developed in the visual arts in the Renaissance. For Wotton the pictorial arts, as a mute eloquence, could persuade the viewer. The pictorial arts could even persuade more strongly, since images were considered to have a stronger effect than words. Quintilian recommended to the orator to offer “an image of an event so that it seems painted in words” and stated that the ability to persuade depended on the ability to “appeal to the eyes of the mind”.¹⁵⁴ Sir Henry Wotton seemed to have taken this advice seriously, since he often referred to the mind’s eye, and considered the visual aspect of architecture as the strongest effect.¹⁵⁵

IV. CONCLUSION: ‘MORALL ARCHITECTURE’

We may conclude that in Wotton’s view the pictorial arts and rhetoric could both induce specific behaviour. Both arts were based on the interest man has by nature in mimesis such as Aristotle described in his *Poetics*.¹⁵⁶ In the Renaissance theorists such as Cusanus and Ficino integrated Platonist Ideas into the mainly

¹⁵³ Anonymous writer in *The Free Thinker*, 1733, p. 35.

¹⁵⁴ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, VIII.iii.62-63.

¹⁵⁵ Wotton referred to visuality in his *Elements of Architecture*, p. 4, pp. 40-41, pp. 52-54, pp. 87-88, p. 103.

¹⁵⁶ Aristotle, *Poetics*, IV.5; Lovejoy (1978), p. 86.

Aristotelian tradition of the chain of being.¹⁵⁷ The ideal is not only situated outside nature and man (as divine and exclusive) but is also present as an innate idea in man. The chain of being was merged with Plato's innate ideas in the Neoplatonical philosophy in which the mathematical character of 'God's book of nature' became explicit.¹⁵⁸

The great chain of being, a hierarchical order of all that exists from the lowest grade of earth and rocks up to the higher ranks of rational souls and angelic minds up to the perfection of God, was an important part of the Elizabethan world picture.¹⁵⁹ God's principles run through every part. Every part was constructed according to the same divine pattern. The parts were only microcosms in the sense that they were formed out of this similar pattern throughout. Ideals as harmony and order were at the base of these patterns and directly linked to Plato's innate ideas. In an essay on the painter Van Dyck, John Peacock writes about the chain of being as described by Van Dyck's friend Sir Kenelm Digby who wrote in 1652: "all the thinges in the world, are but like linkes of a chaine, forged by an all knowing Architecte".¹⁶⁰

Because of its common ground in God's principles of order and harmony, all parts of the complete whole relate to each other in an analogous way. One can find many analogies and metaphors in texts in early modern England. One example of the

¹⁵⁷ Koenigsberger (1979), p. 35.

¹⁵⁸ Koenigsberger (1979), p. 41.

¹⁵⁹ Lovejoy (1978), p. 59; Lohr (1988), p. 571; Tillyard (1950), pp. 4-33. Tillyard described the Chain as consisting of four links: the inanimate class (existence), the vegetative class (existence and life), the sensitive class (existence, life and feeling) and the rational, spiritual class (the angels) (p. 25).

¹⁶⁰ Quoted from Peacock (2004) [Digby, Sir Kenelm, *A Discourse, concerning Infallibility in Religion*, Paris, 1652].

harmonic principles running through all God's work and hence, man's work can be found in William Austin's (1587 – 1634) book on women, *Haec Homo* (1637). He compared (wo)man to architecture:

But whether this building (for the form) were square; like a castle, or cornered like a triangle; or round; like a tower; or, like a Roman H according to most of our modern aedifices, is partly questionable. To this, must be answered; that it is made in all the Geometrical proportions that are, or can be imagined: For as all Numbers and proportions, for measure (both of inches, spannes, digitis, cubits, feet, &c) are derived from the members, and dimensions of the human body; so is also the body answerable to all proportions, buildings and figures, that are. Not onely answerable (I say) to the whole World, (of which it is an epitome) but for the most part, to every particular figure, character, building, and fabrick in the world.

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The parallel between man and building goes back to Vitruvius and later the Middle Ages, but was studied extensively in the Renaissance with the help of mathematical measurements and

¹⁶¹ From Austin, *Haec Homo*, pp. 75-76. See also Barkan (1975), p. 127.

proportions.¹⁶² A parallel between man and architecture was described by Wotton where he referred to the mimical qualities of man once more:

For what are the most iudicious Artisans but the Mimiques of Nature? This led me to contemplate the Fabrique of our owne Bodies, wherein the High Architect of the world, had displaied such a skill, as did stupifie, all humane reason. There I found the Hart as the fountaine of Life placed about the Middle, for the more equall communication of the vitall spirits. The Eyes seated aloft, that they might describe the greater Circle within their view. The Armes projected on each side, for ease of reaching. Briefly (not to loose our selves in this sweet speculation) it plainely appeareth, as a Maxime drawne from the Divine light; That the Place of every part is te be determined by the Use.¹⁶³

¹⁶² Barkan (1975), p. 136.

¹⁶³ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 7. This exact passage also appears in Henry Hawkins' *Partheneia Sacra* which was published nine years later than Wotton's *Elements* in 1633. Hawkins (1577-1646) was an emblemist and the *Parthenia Sacra* is an emblem book divided into 22 chapters, each sub-divided in pictures and text. The text is organised along the titles 'Character', 'Morals', 'Essay', 'Discourse', 'Theories' and 'Apostrophe'. The passage that appears in Wotton can be found in the chapter 'The House' – 'The Essay'. Hawkins' *Parthenia Sacra* was based on Etienne Binet's *Essay des Merveilles de la Nature et des plus*

The analogies between God, man and building were also extended to the political state. Wotton stated in his *Elements*:

For to speake of garnishing the Fabrique with a Row of erected Statues, about the Cornice of every Contignation or story, were discourse more proper for Athens or Rome, in the time of their true greatnesse, when (as Plinie recordeth of his own Age) there were neere as many carved Images, as living Men; like a noble contention, even in point of Fertility, betweene Art and Nature; which passage doth not onely argue an infinite abundance, both of Artizans and Materials; but likewise of Magnificent and Majesticall desires, in every common person of those times; more or lesse according o their Fortunes. And true it is indeed that the Marble Monuments & Memories of well deserving Men, wherewith the very high wayes were strewed on each side was not a bare and transitory entertainment of the Eye, or onely a gentle deception of Time, to the Travailer: But had also a secret and strong Influence, even into the advancement of the Monarchie, by continuall

nobles artifices (1621) but the research trail comes to an end there. It is unknown if Wotton used the same French source. See Van Eck (2003), pp. 114-121; Peacock (2004); Bath (1994), pp. 233-254.

representation of vertuous examples; so as in
that point ART became a piece of State.¹⁶⁴

Art became a means for the state to persuade the audience of its legitimacy. Wotton pointed this specific and special power of art out to his readers, the aristocracy of early modern England. At another point Wotton stressed moral philosophy to be the superintendent of art:

...it [sculpture] bee not too generall and
abundant, which would make a House, looke
like a Cabbinet, & in this point, morall
Philosophie which tempereth Fancies, is the
Superintendent of Art.¹⁶⁵

In the world picture current in the Elizabethan and Jacobean period the state is based on the same principles as the universe or the family and so the same rules apply. The traditional hierarchy in Renaissance moral philosophy was based on Aristotle's ethics, in which a division between ethics (as general rules), economics and politics (as application on family and state) was made.¹⁶⁶ Similarly man, family and state in the great chain of being were thought to correspond. Rules for the behaviour of a man and son should correspondingly apply to a king and his subjects. The place of a king in the world was seen as "correspondent to God in the Heavens, the sun in the cosmos, the father in the family and the lion in the animal kingdom".¹⁶⁷ In the early seventeenth century men truly and deeply believed in these correspondences. One finds these correspondences often in various styles in discourses as metaphors

¹⁶⁴ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, pp. 105-107.

¹⁶⁵ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, pp. 102-103.

¹⁶⁶ Krays (1988), pp. 303-5.

¹⁶⁷ Sharpe (2000), p. 43.

and comparisons. But, as Kevin Sharpe pointed out, these metaphors were so strongly believed in that they stopped being taken as a metaphor. It was not just a rhetorical device for them, in order to make a point, but a true state of affairs. Society as a whole was steeped in this way of thinking in correspondences and for that reason, any metaphor or correspondence in any type of discourse should be regarded as highly rich in meaning. I would not like to go as far as Sharpe in saying that these correspondences are *more* than metaphors and, to use one of his examples again, “to be a father in early modern England *was* to be a king, and the reverse was also true”. But certainly the meaning of metaphors was stretched here as far as is possible.¹⁶⁸

In the epilogue of *The Elements of Architecture* Wotton referred to a new work by his hand, *A Philosophical Survey of Education*, which he also termed a “kinde of Morall Architecture”. Only a draft of this is known of this and published in the *Reliquiae Wottonianae*. In the preface to *The Elements* he told his reader that his plan to write about architecture was far from presumptuous, since it is more modest for someone who has thought about state and politics to write on architecture than it is for an architect to write about politics. Wotton wrote in his preface to his *Morall Architecture*:

But having long since put forth a slight
Pamphlet about the Elements of
Architecture, which yet hath been
entertained with some pardon among my
Friends I was encouraged even at this age, to
assay how I could build a Man: For there is a

¹⁶⁸ Sharpe (2000), p. 44.

Moral as well as a Natural or Artificial
Complement, and of better Materials: Which
truly I have cemented together rather in the
plain Tuscan (as our Vitruvius termeth it)
than in the Corinthian form. Howsoever, if
Your Majesty be graciously pleased to
approve any part of it, who are so excellent a
Judge in all kind of Structure, I shall much
glory in mine own Endeavour. If other wise,
I will be one of the first My self, that shall
pull it in pieces, and condemn it to Rubbage
and Ruine.¹⁶⁹

Wotton here compared the education of a young man to the building of a house. In the passage quoted above, architecture, education and rhetoric are all used to describe Wotton's new text. The interchangeability of the disciplines was possible on the level of writing and thinking about the subject matter. Morals were involved in building, just like in writing, and in educating a man or boy. Just like an 'artificial' building made of bricks and stone, there is a 'moral' building of man, he stated, which is made of even better materials than artificial buildings. Man's education is the moral building of a man. After analysing *The Elements of Architecture* we can only suggest that Wotton must have considered architecture not only as 'artificial', but with plenty of moral connotations as well. Wotton described his text on education as written in a 'Tuscan' style, rather than a Corinthian. In other words, we can compare it to the most sober of textual styles. Wotton combined rhetorical,

¹⁶⁹ Wotton, *A Philosophical Survey*, preface.

poetical and architectural concepts in writing on and thinking about architecture. He carried heraldry and emblematics into architecture and thereby assured its continuing role in seventeenth-century thought on architecture. Initially it seemed that Wotton wrote this book to raise his status as art connoisseur and to gain the post of provost at Eton, but, intended or not, at the same time he provided England with one of the first architectural treatises that analysed Italian architecture and may have set the tone for many decades to come in how to consider architecture as 'mute eloquence'. We will see how Vanbrugh, Hawksmoor and Wren considered architecture in similar terms, emphasizing the visual aspect of buildings and the relation between the building and the viewer. Sir Henry Wotton's treatise was probably, or in Wren's case very likely, known to all three architects and we can consider the analysis of Wotton's treatise as a starting point for the interpretation of the architecture of Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor.

Sir John Vanbrugh was the outstanding country-house architect of the early 18th century responsible for the two greatest commissions of the time: Blenheim Palace and Castle Howard. A flexible designer, he characteristically worked in a boldly abstracted Classical style informed by contemporary European Baroque architecture. Many of his buildings incorporate the elements of castle architecture, such as battlements, towers and compact residential plans. In 1699, as a man in his mid thirties and apparently without any previous architectural experience, Vanbrugh took control of the largest architectural commission in the kingdom: a massive new house for the Earl of Carlisle (a fellow Kit Kat Club member) at Henderskelf in Yorkshire, now familiar as Castle Howard.

Nicholas Hawksmoor (c. 1661 – 25 March 1736) was an English architect. He was a leading figure of the English Baroque style of architecture in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. Hawksmoor worked alongside the principal architects of the time, Christopher Wren and John Vanbrugh, and contributed to the design of some of the most notable buildings of the period, including St Paul's Cathedral, Wren's City of London churches, Blenheim Palace and Castle Howard. [close]

Nicholas Hawksmoor (c. 1661 – 25 March 1736) was an English architect. He was a leading figure of the En